

Message Text

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SUBJECT:OAKLEY STATEMENT TO WOLF SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY
OAKLEY'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE WOLF SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS:

BEGIN TEXT:

JUNE 12, 1977

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN: FOURMONTHS AGO YOU, MR. CHAIR-
MAN, ACCURATELY STATED IN YOUR ADDRESS BEFORE THE NARCOTICS
CONFERENCE IN BANGKOK THAT IT IS ,THE AREA OF INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION (WHICH) IS THE KEYSTONE IN OUR ENTIRE EFFORT"
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TO END THE ILLICIT INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKING IN NARCOTICS.
IN FACT, THAT CONFERENCE WAS ITSELF A WATERSHED IN INTER-
NATIONAL ANTI-NARCOTICS COOPERATION, A LONG SOUGHT GOAL OF
THIS COMMITTEE. AT THIS MEETING THE PRIME MINISTER OF
THAILAND,PRESIDENT CARTER'S SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR DRUG
ABUSE, THE NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR TO THAILAND, THE PROGRAM
DIRECTOR OF THE US PROGRAM ON DRUG ABUSE CONTROL AND YOU,
MR. CHAIRMAN, ALL IDENTIFIED AN INCREASE IN INTERNATIONAL

COOPERATION AS THE PRINCIPAL TOOL TO BRING THE SCOURGE OF

DRUGS UNDER CONTROL. THE AUDIENCE WAS NO LESS DISTINGUISHED CONSISTING OF THE AMBASSADORS FROM CANADA, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, NEW ZEALAND, BELGIUM, MALAYSIA AND GREAT BRITAIN, ALL OF WHO CLEARLY RECOGNIZED THAT THE ILLEGAL TRADE IN DRUGS IS A THREAT TO THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

THE NARCOTICS CONFERENCE ALSO GAVE EVIDENCE OF THE IMPORTANCE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PLACES ON OUR ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAM IN RELATION TO OUR OTHER FOREIGNPOLICY GOALS. THE PRESENCE AT THE CONFERENCE OF DR. PETER BOURNE, PRESIDENT CARTER'S APPOINTMENT TO THE NEWLY CREATED OFFICE OF SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT, SIGNIFICANTLY EMPHASIZED THE ADMINISTRATIONS' COMMITMENT TO ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICIES. DR. BOURNE REPORTS DIRECTLY TO THE PRESIDENT AS WELL AS CHAIRING THE NEW NARCOTICS STRATEGY COUNCIL. THE STRATEGY COUNCIL WITH ITS MANDATE TO ADMINISTER BOTH U.S. DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAMS REPLACES THE OLD, AND AS YOU WELL KNOW, LESS EFFECTIVE CABINET COMMITTEES ON INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL, DRUG LAW ENFORCEMENT AND DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION AND TREATMENT. DR. BOURNE'S OFFICE AND THE STRATEGY COUNCIL ARE INDICATIVE OF THE NEW APPROACH THE U.S. UNCLASSIFIED

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GOVERNMENT IS TAKING IN NARCOTICS POLICY EMPHASIZING CLOSER COOPERATION WITH THE CONGRESS AND BETTER COORDINATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE AGENCIES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH. IN INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL POLICY, THE ADMINISTRATION IS EMPHASIZING THE TWO THEMES OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY WITH U.S. NARCOTICS POLICY.

THE PROBLEM OF DRUG ABUSE CAN NO LONGER BE VIEWED AS A LOCAL OR EVEN NATIONAL PROBLEM. FOR SEVERAL YEARS AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AROUND THE WORLD HAVE WARNED FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS THAT DRUG ABUSE WAS NOT AN AMERICAN PROBLEM AND THAT ALL SOCIETIES ARE EQUALLY VULNERABLE TO ITS DESTRUCTIVE FORCES. THERE CAN BE NO ISOLATIONISTS IN THE WAR AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TRAFFICKING IN DANGEROUS DRUGS AND THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS PLACED RENEWED EMPHASIS ON MOBILIZING FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

LIKE THE UNITED STATES, SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS ARE THEMSELVES "VICTIM COUNTRIES" UNDERGOING THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BROUGHT ON BY A RISING DRUG ADDICTION RATE. WE ESTIMATE THAT BETWEEN

THAILAND AND BURMA ALONE THERE ARE CLOSE TO HALF A MILLION DRUG ADDICTS. THIS NUMBER IS CLOSE TO THE USUAL ESTIMATES OF AMERICAN ADDICTS, BUT REPRESENTS

A PROPORTIONATELY GREATER SHARE OF A COMBINED THAI-BURMESE POPULATION OF LESS THAN 80,000,000. THE PLIGHT OF ANOTHER COUNTRY'S ADDICT CAN NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED THAT COUNTRY'S PROBLEM. BY REDUCING THE NUMBER OF ADDICTS, DEMAND FOR DRUGS AND ANY LOCAL SUPPORT FOR DRUG DEALERS IS REDUCED. EVENTUALLY, THIS CHAIN OF CAUSE AND EFFECT CAN ASSIST IN LIMITING NARCOTICS PRODUCTION. IN THAILAND WE ARE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF ESTABLISHING 15 PILOT DRUG DETOXI-
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FICATION CENTERS IN BANGKOK. AT THE REQUEST OF THE BURMESE GOVERNMENT WE ARE SENDING A CONSULTANT ON DRUG TREATMENT TO MAKE A STUDY ON HOW WE MIGHT SIMILARLY REDUCE THE ADDICT POPULATION IN THAT COUNTRY. U.S. ASSISTANCE IN HELPING OTHER COUNTRIES OVERCOME THEIR DRUG ABUSE PROBLEMS ALSO PRODUCES INCREASED UNDERSTANDING OF THE NARCOTICS PROBLEMS WE FACE.

INCREASED CONCERN ABOUT DRUG ADDICTION IS NOT RELEGATED TO THE U.S. AND SOUTHEAST ASIA. CANADA HAS RECOGNIZED THAT IT IS NOT ONLY HUMANE BUT IN CANADA'S OWN NATIONAL INTEREST TO ASSIST BURMA IN ESTABLISHING DRUG TREATMENT CENTERS AND HAS SO INDICATED TO THE BURMESE. FURTHER RECOGNITION OF THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS IN COMBATTING DRUGS CAN ALSO BE SEEN IN THE RECENT CONTRIBUTION TO UNFDAC OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES. THIS CONTRIBUTION OF APPROXIMATELY SIX MILLION DOLLARS WAS SPECIFICALLY EARMARKED FOR UNM AC PROGRAMS IN THAILAND AND BURMA OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS. ALSO SEVERAL EUROPEAN 'VICTIM COUNTRIES' HAVE RECENTLY ASSIGNED NARCOTICS OFFICERS IN BANGKOK TO ADMINISTER THEIR OWN BILATERAL ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAMS AS WELL AS TO COORDINATE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS. IN SHORT, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE U.S. IS NO LONGER ALONE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST DRUG ABUSE AND IN THE COORDINATED AND COOPERATIVE EFFORTS OF MANY NATIONS IS THE STRENGTH TO END THIS DEADLY MENACE.

FOR OUR PART, U.S. ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAMS OBVIOUSLY NEED THE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AND STRENGTH PROVIDED BY THE OVERALL FRAMEWORK OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE RESOURCES WHICH SUPPORT THEM.
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THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS, THEREFORE, WORKED TO INTEGRATE INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL OBJECTIVES MORE CLOSELY INTO OUR OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY.

I SPEAK WITH ASSURANCE WHEN I STATE THAT NARCOTICS CONTROL IS NOW A MAJOR ELEMENT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.

THE INTEGRATION OF NARCOTICS AND FOREIGN POLICY IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, WHERE LOCAL POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC QUESTIONS AS WELL AS INTERACTION BETWEEN STATES OF THE REGION AND THE INTERESTS OF OUTSIDE PARTIES MAKE NARCOTICS CONTROL MUCH MORE THAN A SIMPLE LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEM.

AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN OUR COORDINATED LONG-TERM STRATEGY IS CROP AND INCOME SUBSTITUTION. IF ALTERNATIVE CROPS CAN BE DEVELOPED FOR LANDS PRESENTLY GIVEN OVER TO POPPY CULTIVATION THEN OPIUM PRODUCTION ITSELF CAN BE REDUCED. UNFDAC, USAID AND THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAVE BEEN WORKING COOPERATIVELY IN THAILAND'S NORTHWEST NOT ONLY TO IDENTIFY SUITABLE CROPS TO SUBSTITUTE FOR OPIUM PRODUCTION BUT ALSO TO DESIGN THE INFRASTRUCTURE NECESSARY TO MAKE CROP SUBSTITUTION ECONOMICALLY VIABLE. SEVERAL CROPS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS SUITABLE FOR CULTIVATION IN THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" AREA AND EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE BY THAILAND, WITH U.S. HELP, TO BEGIN A PILOT PRODUCTION PROJECT. THE THAI GOVERNMENT'S NEW NARCOTICS CONTROL BOARD IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE HAS THE SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR CROP SUBSTITUTION. WE ANTICIPATE AN EXTENSION PROGRAM OF CROP SUBSTITUTION FOR SALE TO BE INSTITUTED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IN ADDITION WE ARE ASSISTING IN STUDIES OF SUCH INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AS FEEDER ROADS, MARKETING OUTLETS, FOOD PROCESSING PLANTS AND REFORESTATION, UNCLASSIFIED

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ALL OF WHICH, MESH FULLY WITH A PRINCIPAL U.S. FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE OF ASSISTING THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN A DESPARATELY POOR AREA OF THE WORLD.

THE HILLTRIBE OPIUM GROWERS OF BURMA, LAOS AND THAILAND EKE OUT A BARE SUBSISTENCE FROM OPIUM CULTIVATION. OUR CROP SUBSTITUTION PROGRAMS IN THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" OF SOUTHEAST ASIA ARE DESIGNED TO INTEGRATE THESE TRIBESMEN INTO THE NATIONAL MARKET ECONOMIES OF THEIR COUNTRY, THEREBY FURTHERING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL STABILITY AND RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND OUR ANTI-NARCOTICS PROGRAM.

COINCIDENT WITH CROP SUBSTITUTION ARE PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO MEET THE BASIC HUMAN NEED FOR HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE. THE PRODUCTION OF OPIUM IN THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" IS NOT A MODERN PHENOMINON. HILL TRIBESMEN HAVE FOR CENTURIES USED OPIUM TO DEADEN THE PAIN OF

THE MULTITUDE OF SERIOUS ILLNESSES WHICH ARE ENDEMIC TO THEIR AREA. CONSEQUENTLY WE ARE MAKING AN EFFORT THAT HAS BOTH HUMANITARIAN AND ANTI-NARCOTICS IMPLICATIONS TO BRING MODERN MEDICINE AND TREATMENT TO THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" WHICH WILL FURTHER REDUCE ONE OF THE MAJOR INCENTIVES FOR THE PRODUCTION OF OPIUM.

WHAT ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THOSE OPIUM FARMERS IN THE MOUNTAINOUS REGIONS OF THE 'GOLDEN TRIANGLE?' CONTINUED WARLORD CONTROL OF THIS REGION WOULD DENY ACCESS TO THE ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF BURMA OR THAILAND FOR THESE HILLTRIBE FARMERS AND WOULD FOREVER FRUSTRATE ANY HOPE OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT. BOTH THE BURMESE AND THAI GOVERNMENTS ARE ACCUTELY AWARE THAT THEIR ANTI-
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NARCOTICS PROGRAMS HAVE THE POTENTIAL FOR DISRUPTING THESE HILLTRIBE SOCIETIES SO LONG DEPENDENT ON POPPY CULTIVATION. NEEDLESS TO SAY, NEITHER BURMA NOR THAILAND WANT TO SEE THESE FARMERS JOIN THE RANKS OF THE COMMUNIST INSURGENCIES THAT EXIST IN BOTH COUNTRIES. ASIDE FROM THE CROP SUBSTITUTION AND HEALTH PROGRAMS ALREADY DESCRIBED, AN EXAMPLE OF THE CARE BEING TAKEN TO PRESERVE THE VIABILITY OF THE HILLTRIBE SOCIETIES IS THE BURMESE DECISION NOT TO USE HERBICIDES AGAINST POPPY FIELDS IN THE SHAN STATES FEARING THAT SUCH USE MIGHT DAMAGE THE FOOD CROPS IN THIS AREA.

NATURALLY, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INTEGRATION INTO THE THAI AND BURMESE NATIONAL ECONOMIES IS NOT AN OVERNIGHT OBJECTIVE. IT MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY LAW ENFORCEMENT, NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL. THE NARCOTICS TRADE HAS LONG FOSTERED A STATE OF LAWLESSNESS OVER WIDE AREAS OF BURMA AND NORTHERN THAILAND. THE RULE OF LAW IN THESE AREAS HAS BEEN REPLACED BY THE DEPREDACTIONS OF WARLORD ARMIES AND BANDITS SUCH AS CHANG CHI-FU'S SO-CALLED S'AN UNITED ARMY. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, STRESSED THE NEED FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS BOTH AS A MEANS OF ACCELERATING PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND TO STOP, TO THE DEGREE POSSIBLE, THE FLOW OF NARCOTICS.

WE CAN TAKE PRIDE IN A MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN SLOWING DOWN NARCOTICS FLOW. IN 1974, NARCOTICS FLOWED ALMOST UNIMPEDED FROM THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" INTO THE INTERNATIONAL MARKETPLACE. TODAY THE FLOW CONTINUES, BUT IT HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED AND TRAFFICKERS ARE FINDING THE TRADE INCREASINGLY MORE RISKY. SINCE THE NARCOTICS CONFERENCE IN APRIL, THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED DECLINE IN THE AMOUNT OF HEROIN AND OPIUM COMING OUT OF THE 'GOLDEN TRIANGLE.'

IN OTHER TESTIMONY, YOU WILL BE PROVIDED FURTHER
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DETAILS OF THIS DECLINE. IF CURRENT TRENDS CONTINUE,
AND WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO SEE THAT THEY DO, IT IS
CONCEIVABLE THAT THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" HEROIN MENACE
WILL CEASE TO THREATEN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
WITHIN THE NEXT DECADE.

I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT MOST OF THE
CREDIT FOR PAST SUCCESSES RESTS WITH THE THAI AND
BURMESE GOVERNMENTS. WHILE WE AND OTHERS HAVE
PROVIDED HELP, THE REAL ENFORCEMENT AND FINANCIAL
BURDEN HAS FALLEN ON THESE TWO COUNTRIES.
THEIR CONTINUED COOPERATION IS ABSOLUTELY ESSEN-
TIAL IF SUCCESS IS TO BE ACHIEVED.

BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE NARCOTICS CONTROL A
MAJOR DOMESTIC OBJECTIVE. BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE
COMMITTED SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES OF THEIR OWN TO THE
EFFORT, AND HAVE PLEDGED TO CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

A PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN
RECENTLY INCREASED THAI-BURMESE COOPERATION AGAINST
TRAFFICKING GROUPS ALONG THEIR COMMON BORDER.
LATE LAST MONTH, FORCES FROM BOTH COUNTRIES PARTI-
CIPATED IN A COORDINATED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SHAN
UNITED ARMY AND OTHER WARLORD GROUPS IN THE MAE HONG
SON AREA. THIS SUCCESSFUL EFFORT NETTED 660 GALLONS
OF SEMI-PROCESSED OPIUM SOLUTION, DESTROYED 6 MAJOR
REFINERY SITES, AND THREW THE TRAFFICKERS INTO FURTHER
DISARRAY.

OUR POLICIES TO FURTHER THE RULE OF LAW ALSO MESH
WITH OUR OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE OF FURTHERING
PEACE AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.
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A SITUATION OF NEAR ANARCHY IN THE SENSITIVE "GOLDEN
TRIANGLE" AREA IS ESSENTIALLY DESTABILIZING.
BURMESE AND THAI EFFORTS TO BRING THIS ANARCHY UNDER

CONTROL ARE FURTHER COMPLICATED BY THE POLITICAL
AFFILIATIONS CLAIMED BY THESE NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING
ORGANIZATIONS AND BY THE REGIONAL AND POLITICAL
SITUATION. IN THIS CONTEXT WE CAN UNDERSTAND WHY
THE SHAN UNITED ARMY MAINTAINS THAT IT IS AN ANTI-
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WORKING FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION
OF BURMA'S SHAN STATE. THE REMNANTS OF CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S
KMT IN THAILAND AND BURMA INSIST THAT THEY ARE ESSENTIAL

TO PROTECT THAILAND'S NORTHERN PROVINCES FROM ATTACK BY COMMUNIST FORCES IN LAOS AND BURMA. THE ILLUSION THAT DRUG DEALERS AND THEIR HIRED MERCENARY ARMIES ARE LEGITIMATE ORGANIZATIONS HAS COMPLICATED PAST COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF BURMA AND THAILAND. FEAR OF BURMESE COMMUNIST INSURGENTS (ALSO A MAJOR NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATION) HAVE TEMPTED SOME THAI TO TOLERATE ANTI-COMMUNIST TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS AS A BUFFER FORCE ALONG THE THAI-BURMESE BORDER. THIS, IN TURN, FUELS BURMESE SUSPICIONS THAT THE THAI ARE AIDING ANTI-GOVERNMENT FORCES IN BURMA. EVEN THE COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN LAOS IS TROUBLED BY NARCOTICS TRAFFICKING ORGANIZATIONS WHICH CONTROL SOME OF ITS BORDER AREAS.

A CONTINUATION OF THE TANGLED SITUATION DESCRIBED ABOVE MAKES THE PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY MORE PRECARIOUS. BY HELPING TO DRY UP THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE" DRUG TRADE, WE WILL BE PUTTING AN END TO MOST OF THE GROUPS INVOLVED IN THAT TRADE. THE DEMISE OF THESE WARLORD ARMIES WHICH LIVE OFF THESE REVENUES WILL REDUCE TENSIONS IN THE AREA AND CREATE A CLIMATE MORE CONDUCTIVE TO REGIONAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, FUNDAMENTAL U.S. UNCLASSIFIED

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FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY INVOLVES THE CONSTANT INTER-CHANGE OF OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES. IN SUCH A SITUATION, THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF VARIOUS ELEMENTS WHICH COMPOSE THAT POLICY ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE. IN CERTAIN SPECIFIC CIRCUMSTANCES AND INSTANCES U.S. ANTI-NARCOTICS POLICY CONSIDERATIONS MIGHT BE TEMPORARILY OVERSHADOWED BY OTHER POLICY OBJECTIVES. IN THE SPECIFIC CASES OF THAILAND AND BURMA, I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE NARCOTICS ELEMENT OF OUR POLICY HAS INCREASED IN IMPORTANCE RELATIVE TO OUR OTHER OBJECTIVES.

JUST AS NARCOTICS POLICY IS BUT A PART OF AN OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY, NARCOTICS OBJECTIVES IN A GIVEN TIME SPAN CANNOT BE ADDRESSED IN A VACUUM. IDEALLY, OUR LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE WOULD BE THE TERMINATION OF THE ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFIC IN THE "GOLDEN TRIANGLE." IN A MORE PRACTICAL VEIN, WE WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO BE SATISFIED WITH REDUCING THE TRADE TO THE POINT WHERE IT IS NO LONGER A THREAT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

HOW LONG THIS WILL TAKE IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE. MUCH WILL DEPEND UPON ACTIONS TAKEN BY LAOS AND THE

OTHER INDOCHINA STATES TOWARDS THEIR NEIGHBORS IN
BURMA AND THAILAND. IF TENSIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST
AND NON-COMMUNIST STATES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA CAN BE
REDUCED, THE NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS OF THE AREA WILL
THEN BE ABLE TO FOCUS MORE ATTENTION ON THE THREAT THE
TRAFFICKING GANGS REPRESENT TO THEIR ECONOMIES, SOCIETIES
AND SOVEREIGNTY.

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